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# THE ASSALÂYANASUTTAM.

EDITED AND TRANSLATED

BY

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CHEMNITZ,

ERNST SCHMEITZNER.

1880.

LONDON,

TRÜBNER & COMP.





DEDICATED

TO Dr. HERMANN PALM

PROFESSOR IN THE GYMNASIUM OF ST. MARIA-

MAGDALENA AT Breslau

MY REVERED TEACHER AND FRIEND.

The Assalâyanasuttaṃ here published and translated, is the third Suttaṃ of the Majjhimanikâya of the Suttapiṭakam. That it belongs to the Majjhimanikâya we learn from Mr. d' Alwis<sup>1)</sup> and that it is the third Suttaṃ is stated at the end of the MSS. The text is based upon three MSS.

Y. A clearly written MS. on paper. It was presented to my much lamented friend Mr. Childers by Mr. Yâtrânullê Dhammârâma and contains foll. 21.

S. A palm leaf MS., presented in 1871 to Mr. Childers by Mr. Subhûti Terrunnânse, now in the possession of Trinity College, Cambridge.

D. A MS. on paper, presented in 1871 to Mr. Childers by Mr. Rhys Davids, now in the Bodleian Library. All three MSS. are written in the Sinhalese character. I have copied myself Yâtrânullê's MS. (Y) lent to me by Mr. Childers and I could besides make use of the various readings of the two other MSS. which Mr. Childers had most carefully collated with Y. The MSS. contain a short commentary which, however, being too scanty and abrupt, was of no use to me. There is a quotation from another commentary in Childers' Dictionary s. v. padako.

The drift of the Assalâyanasuttaṃ is to show the

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<sup>1)</sup> An Introduction to Kaccâyana's Grammar. Colombo 1863 p. XLV.

indifference of caste. It may fairly be called a variation on the theme proposed in Dhammapadam v. 393 :

na jaṭāhi na gottehi na jaccā<sup>1)</sup> hoti brâhmaṇo  
yamhi saccañ ca dhammo ca, so sukhî, so ca  
brâhmaṇo.

»A man does not become a Brahman by his matted hair, by his family or by birth; in whom there is truth and virtue, he is blessed, he is a Brahman.« This was a favorite theme with Buddhists. According to Mr. Spence Hardy<sup>2)</sup> the Madhurasuttaṃ of the Majjhimanikâya treats of the same subject and to conclude from the abstract given by him, some of the sentences of this Suttaṃ agree exactly with the Assalâyanasuttaṃ. The Northern Buddhists possess a work of the same argument, the Vajrasûcî of Aṣvaghosha.<sup>3)</sup>

The Buddhists believe that the present canon is the same as that fixed by the first Convocation, which was held shortly after Buddha's death. That in this they are wrong, it is not necessary to prove. Even the Suttapiṭakam which may perhaps lay claim to a higher antiquity than the two others contains pieces of different ages. There lie, no doubt, centuries between the Suttas of the Dîgha-or Majjhimanikâya and those of the Suttanipâta which forms part of the Khuddakanikâya and certainly is one of the most recent additions to the Buddhist canon. The Assalâyanasuttaṃ cannot have been written down before the third century B. C. This is proved by the mention

<sup>1)</sup> This, no doubt, is the correct reading instead of jacco.

<sup>2)</sup> Manual of Buddhism p. 80. ff. <sup>3)</sup> It has been edited by Prof. Weber, Berlin 1860.

made of the Kambojâs and Yonâs. By Kambojâs can only be meant the people north-west of the Indus; for there is no other country of a people of this name which may be said to be adjacent to Kosala. The name of the Yonâs or Yavanâs is a rather ambiguous one, but the fact that in our passage and in numerous other passages they are mentioned along with the Kambojâs, tends to show that their country cannot have been situated very far from that of the latter. Now if we consider their geographical site as defined by our Suttam and remember that in other Buddhist scriptures the Yonâs are doubtless Greeks<sup>1)</sup>, we are, I think, driven to the conclusion that the Yonâs of our text can only be the Bactrian Greeks<sup>2)</sup>, and as there is no ground for supposing that the sentence in which they are spoken of has been interpolated, we must assume that the whole Suttam has not got its present shape before the third century B. C. This does not, however, much affect its authenticity. We may be quite sure that in spite of all the alterations made in later times, yet the Suttas of the older part of the Suttapitakam give us a true specimen of Buddha's doctrine and that, if his sermons have not come down to us in exactly the same words in which they were first delivered, yet the ideas and the whole method of reasoning is Buddha's.

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<sup>1)</sup> Childers, Pâli Dictionary s. v. <sup>2)</sup> Weber, Indische Streifen II, 320 ff. Indische Literaturgeschichte <sup>2</sup> p. 194. note.

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## NAMO TASSA BHAGAVATO ARAHATO SAMMÂSAMBUDDHASSA.

Evam me sutam. ekam samayam Bhagavâ Sâvatthiyam viharati Jetavane Anâthapiṇḍikassa ârâme. tena kho pana samayena nânâverajjakânam<sup>1)</sup> brâhmaṇânam pañcamattâni brâhmaṇasatâni Sâvatthiyam paṭivasanti kena ci devakaraṇīyena. atha kho tesam brâhmaṇânam etad ahosi: ayam kho samaṇo Gotamo cātuvannaṃ suḍḍhiṃ paññâpeti; ko nu kho pahoti samaṇena Gotamena<sup>2)</sup> saddhiṃ asmiṃ vacane patimantetun ti. — tena kho pana samayena Assalâyano nâma mâṇavo Sâvatthiyam paṭivasati daharo vuttasiro soḷasavassuddesiko jâtiyâ tiṇṇam vedânam pâragû sanighaṇḍukeṭubhânam sâkkharappabhedânam itihâsapañcamânam<sup>3)</sup> padako veyyâkaraṇo lokâyatamahâpurisalakkhaṇesu anavayo.<sup>4)</sup> atha kho tesam brâhmaṇânam etad ahosi: ayam kho Assalâyano<sup>5)</sup> mâṇavo Sâvatthiyam paṭivasati daharo vuttasiro soḷasavassuddesiko jâtiyâ tiṇṇam vedânam pâragû sanighaṇḍukeṭubhânam sâkkharappabhedânam itihâsapañcamânam<sup>6)</sup> padako veyyâkaraṇo lokâyatamahâpurisalakkhaṇesu anavayo;<sup>7)</sup> so kho pahoti samaṇena

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<sup>1)</sup> D<sup>o</sup> rañja<sup>o</sup>. <sup>2)</sup> c d d. Gotameṇa. <sup>3)</sup> Y<sup>o</sup> mâṇam. <sup>4)</sup> D anvayo.  
<sup>5)</sup> YD Assalâyaṇo. <sup>6)</sup> YD <sup>o</sup>mâṇam. <sup>7)</sup> D anvayo.



Gotamena<sup>1)</sup> saddhiṃ asmiṃ vacane<sup>2)</sup> patimantetun ti. atha kho te<sup>3)</sup> brâhmaṇâ yena Assalâyano mâṇavo<sup>4)</sup> ten' upasaṃkamimsu,<sup>5)</sup> upasaṃkamitvâ Assalâyanam mâṇavam etad avocum: ayaṃ bho Assalâyana samaṇo Gotamo câtuvanṇiṃ suddhiṃ paññâpeti; etu bhavam Assalâyano samaṇena Gotamena<sup>6)</sup> saddhiṃ asmiṃ vacane<sup>7)</sup> patimantetun ti. evaṃ vutte Assalâyano mâṇavo te brâhmaṇe etad avoca: samaṇo khalu bho Gotamo dhammavâdî,<sup>8)</sup> dhammavâdino ca pana duppatimantiyâ bhavanti; nâhaṃ sakkomi samaṇena Gotamena<sup>9)</sup> saddhiṃ asmiṃ vacane patimantetun ti. dutiyaṃ pi kho brâhmaṇâ Assalâyanam mâṇavam<sup>10)</sup> etad avocum: ayaṃ bho Assalâyana samaṇo Gotamo câtuvanṇiṃ suddhiṃ paññâpeti; etu bhavam Assalâyano samaṇena Gotamena<sup>11)</sup> saddhiṃ asmiṃ vacane<sup>12)</sup> patimantetum<sup>13)</sup>; caritaṃ kho pana bhotâ Assalâyanena paribbâjakan ti. dutiyaṃ pi kho Assalâyano mâṇavo te brâhmaṇe etad avoca: samaṇo khalu bho Gotamo dhammavâdî, dhammavâdino ca pana duppatimantiyâ bhavanti; nâhaṃ sakkomi samaṇena Gotamena<sup>14)</sup> saddhiṃ asmiṃ vacane patimantetun ti. tatiyaṃ pi kho te<sup>15)</sup> brâhmaṇâ Assalâyanam mâṇavam etad avocum: ayaṃ<sup>16)</sup> bho Assalâyana samaṇo Gotamo câtuvanṇiṃ suddhiṃ paññâpeti; etu bhavam Assalâyano samaṇena Gotamena<sup>17)</sup> saddhiṃ asmiṃ vacane<sup>18)</sup> patimantetum; caritaṃ kho pana bhotâ Assalâyanena<sup>19)</sup> paribbâjakam; mâ bhavam Assalâyano ayuddhaparâjitaṃ<sup>20)</sup> parâjayi ti.

1) YD Gotameṇa. 2) YD vacaṇe. 3) D o m. te. 4) YD mânavo. 5) S <sup>0</sup>kamisu. 6) YD Gotameṇa. 7) YD vacaṇe. 8) D <sup>0</sup>vâdi. 9) YD Gotameṇa. 10) c d d. mâna<sup>0</sup>. 11) YD Gotameṇa. 12) YD vacane. 13) S <sup>0</sup>mantetu. 14) c d d. Gotameṇa. 15) Y o m. te. 16) Y aṃ. 17) YD Gotameṇa. 18) YD vacaṇe. 19) Y Assalâyano. 20) YD asuddha<sup>0</sup>.

evam vutte Assalâyano mâniavo te brâhmaṇe etad  
avoca: addhâ<sup>1)</sup>) kho ahaṃ bhavante na labhâmi. samaṇo  
khalu bho<sup>2)</sup>) Gotamo dhammavâdî, dhammavâdino ca  
pana duppatimantiyâ bhavanti; nâhaṃ sakkomi sama-  
ṇena Gotamena saddhiṃ asmiṃ vacane patimantetuṃ.  
api câhaṃ bhavantânaṃ vacanena gamissâmî ti. atha  
kho Assalâyano mâniavo mahatâ brâhmaṇagaṇena<sup>3)</sup>)  
saddhiṃ yena Bhagavâ ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃka-  
mitvâ Bhagavatâ saddhiṃ sammodi<sup>4)</sup>), sammodanîyaṃ  
kathaṃ sârânîyaṃ vîtisâretvâ ekamantaṃ nisîdi, eka-  
mantaṃ nisinno kho Assalâyano mâniavo Bhagavan-  
taṃ etad avoca: brâhmaṇâ bho Gotama evaṃ âhaṃsu:  
brâhmaṇâ<sup>5)</sup>) va seṭṭho vaṇṇo hîno<sup>6)</sup>) añño vaṇṇo,  
brâhmaṇâ va sukko vaṇṇo kaṇho añño vaṇṇo, brâ-  
hmaṇâ va sujjhanti no abrahmaṇâ, brâhmaṇâ va <sup>6)</sup>  
brahmuno<sup>7)</sup>) puttâ orasâ mukhato jâtâ brahmajâ bra-  
hmanimmitâ brahmadâyâdâ ti; idha bhavaṃ Gotamo  
kiṃ âhâ ti. dissante<sup>8)</sup>) kho pana Assalâyana brâhma-  
ṇânaṃ brâhmaṇiyo utuniyo pi gabbhiniyo pi<sup>9)</sup>) vijâ-  
yamânâ<sup>10)</sup>) pi pâyamânâ<sup>11)</sup>) pi. te ca brâhmaṇâ<sup>12)</sup>)  
yonijâ va samânâ evaṃ âhaṃsu: brâhmaṇâ va seṭṭho  
vaṇṇo hîno<sup>13)</sup>) añño vaṇṇo, brâhmaṇâ va sukko vaṇṇo  
kaṇho añño vaṇṇo, brâhmaṇâ va sujjhanti no abrah-  
hmaṇâ, brâhmaṇâ va brahmuno<sup>14)</sup>) puttâ orasâ mukhato  
jâtâ brahmajâ brahmanimmitâ brahmadâyâdâ ti. kiñ  
câpi bhavaṃ Gotamo evaṃ âha, atha kho brâhmaṇâ  
evaṃ etaṃ maññanti: brâhmaṇâ va seṭṭho vaṇṇo<sup>15)</sup>)

<sup>1)</sup> D accâ. <sup>2)</sup> Y om. bho. <sup>3)</sup> c d d. brâhmaṇa. <sup>4)</sup> Y  
modî. <sup>5)</sup> S<sup>0</sup> hmaṇa. <sup>6)</sup> YD hîno. <sup>6a)</sup> c d d. om. va. <sup>7)</sup> YD  
hmuṇo. <sup>8)</sup> S dissanto. <sup>9)</sup> Y om. pi. <sup>10)</sup> YD<sup>0</sup> mânâ. <sup>11)</sup> S  
jâyamânâ YD jâyamânâ. <sup>12)</sup> YS brâhmaṇa. <sup>13)</sup> YD hîno  
<sup>14)</sup> YD brahmuno. <sup>15)</sup> YD om. vaṇṇo.



hîno añño vaṇṇo — pe — brahmadâyâdâ ti. taṃ kiṃ maññasi Assalâyana. sutan te Yona Kambojesu aññesu ca paccantimesu<sup>1)</sup> janapadesu ceva vaṇṇâ<sup>2)</sup>, ayyo ceva dâso ca; ayyo hutvâ dâso hoti, dâso hutvâ ayyo hoti ti. evaṃ bho sutam me; Yona Kambojesu aññesu ca paccantimesu janapadesu<sup>3)</sup> ceva<sup>4)</sup> vaṇṇâ<sup>5)</sup>, ayyo ceva dâso ca; ayyo hutvâ dâso hoti, dâso hutvâ ayyo hoti ti. ettha Assalâyana brâhmaṇânaṃ kiṃ balaṃ ko assâso yad' ettha brâhmaṇâ evaṃ âhaṃsu: brâhmaṇâ va setṭho vaṇṇo hîno<sup>6)</sup> añño vaṇṇo — pe — brahmadâyâdâ ti. kiṃ<sup>7)</sup> câpi bhavaṃ Gotamo evaṃ âha, atha kho ettha<sup>8)</sup> brâhmaṇâ evaṃ etaṃ<sup>9)</sup> maññanti: brâhmaṇâ va setṭho vaṇṇo hîno<sup>10)</sup> añño vaṇṇo — pe — brahmadâyâdâ ti. taṃ kiṃ maññasi Assalâyana. khattiyo va nu kho pâṇâtipâtî<sup>11)</sup> adinnâdâyî<sup>12)</sup> kâmesu micchâcârî<sup>13)</sup> musâvâdî<sup>14)</sup> pisunâvâco parusâvâco samphappalâpî abhijjhâlû vyâpannacitto micchâdiṭṭhî<sup>15)</sup> kâyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ maraṇâ apâyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipâtaṃ nirayaṃ uppajjeyya no brâhmaṇo; vesso ca nu kho suddo ca nu kho pâṇâtipâtî<sup>16)</sup> adinnâdâyî kâmesu micchâcârî musâvâdî pisunâvâco parusâvâco samphappalâpî abhijjhâlû<sup>17)</sup> vyâpannacitto micchâdiṭṭhî<sup>18)</sup> kâyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ maraṇâ apâyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipâtaṃ nirayaṃ uppajjeyya no<sup>19)</sup> brâhmaṇo ti. no h' idaṃ bho Gotama. khattiyo pi hi bho Gotama pâṇâtipâtî<sup>20)</sup> adinnâdâyî<sup>21)</sup> kâmesu micchâcârî musâvâdî pisunâvâco parusâvâco samphappalâpî abhijjhâlû<sup>22)</sup> vyâpannacitto

<sup>1)</sup> c dd. paccantime. <sup>2)</sup> Y vaṇṇa D vanna. <sup>3)</sup> YD jaṇa. <sup>4)</sup> S ve. <sup>5)</sup> D vanna. <sup>6)</sup> YD hîno. <sup>7)</sup> YS kiṃ. <sup>8)</sup> Y'ttha<sup>0</sup> <sup>9)</sup> YD evaṃ evaṃ. <sup>10)</sup> YSD hîno. <sup>11)</sup> D<sup>0</sup> pâti. <sup>12)</sup> D<sup>0</sup> dâyi <sup>13)</sup> D<sup>0</sup> câri. <sup>14)</sup> D<sup>0</sup> vâdi. <sup>15)</sup> D<sup>0</sup> diṭṭhi. <sup>16)</sup> YD pâṇâ<sup>0</sup> <sup>17)</sup> YS ojjhâlû. <sup>18)</sup> D<sup>0</sup> diṭṭhi. <sup>19)</sup> YD om. no. <sup>20)</sup> YD pâṇâ<sup>0</sup> D<sup>0</sup> pâti. <sup>21)</sup> D<sup>0</sup> dâyi. <sup>22)</sup> YS<sup>0</sup> jjhâlû.

micchâditthi<sup>1)</sup> kâyassa bheda param maraṇa apâyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipâtaṃ<sup>2)</sup> nirayaṃ uppajjeyya. brâhmaṇo pi hi bho Gotama vesso pi hi bho Gotama suddo pi hi bho Gotama sabbe pi hi bho Gotama cattâro vaṇṇa pânâtipâtî<sup>3)</sup> adinnâdâyî kâmesu micchâcârî musâvâdî pisunâvâcâ<sup>4)</sup> parusâvâcâ<sup>5)</sup> samphappalâpî abhijjhâlû vyâpannacittâ<sup>6)</sup> micchâditthi kâyassa bheda param maraṇa apâyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipâtaṃ nirayaṃ uppajjeyyun ti. ettha<sup>7)</sup> Assalâyana brâhmaṇaṃ kim balaṃ ko assâso yad' ettha brâhmaṇa evaṃ âhaṃsu: brâhmaṇa<sup>8)</sup> va seṭṭho vaṇṇo — pe — brahmadâyâdâ ti. kiṇ cāpi bhavaṃ Gotamo evaṃ âha. atha kho ettha<sup>9)</sup> brâhmaṇa<sup>10)</sup> evaṃ etaṃ maññanti: brâhmaṇa va seṭṭho vaṇṇo hîno<sup>11)</sup> añño vaṇṇo — pe — brahmadâyâdâ ti. taṃ kim maññasi Assalâyana. brâhmaṇo 'dha<sup>12)</sup> nu kho pânâtipâtâ paṭivirato adinnâdânâ paṭivirato kâmesu micchâcârâ paṭivirato musâvâdâ paṭivirato pisunâvâcâ<sup>13)</sup> paṭivirato parusâvâcâ paṭivirato samphappalâpâ paṭivirato anabhijjhâlû<sup>14)</sup> avyâpannacitto sammâditthi<sup>15)</sup> kâyassa bheda param maraṇa sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjeyya no khattiyâ no vessâ<sup>16)</sup> no suddâ<sup>17)</sup> ti. no h'idaṃ bho Gotama.<sup>18)</sup> khattiyo pi hi bho Gotama pânâtipâtâ paṭivirato adinnâdânâ paṭivirato kâmesu micchâcârâ paṭivirato musâvâdâ paṭivirato pisunâvâcâ<sup>19)</sup> paṭivirato parusâvâcâ<sup>20)</sup> paṭivirato samphappalâpâ paṭivirato anabhijjhâlû avyâpannacitto sammâditthi<sup>21)</sup> kâyassa bheda param maraṇa sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ up-

1) c d d. "ditthi. 2) c d d. viṇi " 3) c d d. pânâ " 4) YD pisunâ " 5) S "vâco. 6) YD vyâpanṇa" 7) D etth' 8) c d d. brâhmaṇa. 9) Y'ttha. 10) YD "hmanâ. 11) c d d. hîno. 12) YD om. 'dha. 13) S pisunâya vâcâya. 14) YD "jjhâlû. 15) c d d. "ditthi. 16) YD om. no vessâ. 17) D suddo. 18) Y om. bho Gotama. 19) S pisunâya vâcâ. 20) S parusâvâcâya. 21) c d d. "ditthi.

pajjeyya. brâhmaṇo pi hi<sup>1)</sup> bho Gotama vesso pi hi bho Gotama suddo pi hi bho Gotama sabbe pi hi bho Gotama cattâro vaṇṇâ pânâtipâtâ paṭiviratâ<sup>2)</sup> adin-nâdânâ paṭiviratâ<sup>2)</sup> kâmesu micchâcârâ paṭiviratâ<sup>2)</sup> mu-sâvâdâ paṭiviratâ pisunâvâcâ paṭiviratâ parusâvâcâ<sup>3)</sup> paṭiviratâ samphappalâpâ paṭiviratâ anabhijjhâlû avy-âpannacittâ sammâdiṭṭhî<sup>4)</sup> kâyassa bheda param ma-raṇâ sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjeyyun ti. ettha Assalâyana brâhmaṇânaṃ kiṃ balaṃ ko assâso yad' ettha brâhmaṇâ evaṃ âhaṃsu: brâhmaṇâ va seṭṭho vaṇṇo hîno<sup>5)</sup> añño vaṇṇo — pe — brahmadâyâdâ ti. kiñ<sup>6)</sup> câpi bhavaṃ Gotamo evaṃ âha. atha kho ettha<sup>7)</sup> brâhmaṇâ evaṃ etaṃ maññanti: brâhmaṇâ va seṭṭho vaṇṇo hîno<sup>8)</sup> añño vaṇṇo — pe — brahmadâyâdâ ti. taṃ kiṃ maññasi Assalâyana. brâhmaṇo va nu kho pahoti asmiṃ padese averaṃ avyâpajjhaṃ mettacittaṃ<sup>9)</sup> bhâvetuṃ no khattiyo no vesso no suddo ti. no h'idaṃ bho Gotama. khattiyo pi hi bho Gotama pahoti asmiṃ padese averaṃ avyâpajjhaṃ mettacittam bhâvetuṃ. brâhmaṇo pi hi bho Gotama vesso pi hi bho Gotama suddo pi hi bho Gotama<sup>10)</sup> sabbe pi hi bho Gotama cattâro vaṇṇâ pahonti asmiṃ padese ave-raṃ avyâpajjhaṃ mettacittam bhâvetun ti. ettha Assa-lâyana brâhmaṇânaṃ kiṃ balaṃ ko assâso yad' ettha brâhmaṇâ evaṃ âhaṃsu: brâhmaṇâ va seṭṭho vaṇṇo hîno<sup>11)</sup> — pe — brahmadâyâdâ ti. kiñ câpi bhavaṃ Gotamo evaṃ âha. atha kho ettha kho brâhmaṇâ evaṃ etaṃ maññanti:<sup>12)</sup> brâhmaṇâ va seṭṭho vaṇṇo

<sup>1)</sup> YD om. hi. <sup>2)</sup> D "virato. <sup>3)</sup> S parusâya vâcâ. <sup>4)</sup> YD "diṭṭhikâ. <sup>5)</sup> c d d. hîno. <sup>6)</sup> YS kiṃ. <sup>7)</sup> Y 'ttha <sup>8)</sup> c d d. hîno <sup>9)</sup> YS mettam cittam. <sup>10)</sup> S om. suddo pi hi bho Gotama. <sup>11)</sup> c d d. hîno. <sup>12)</sup> YS om. brâhmaṇâ to maññanti i n c l.

hîno<sup>1)</sup> añño vaṇṇo — pe —<sup>2)</sup> brahmadâyâdâ ti. taṃ kiṃ maññasi Assalâyana. brâhmaṇo 'dha<sup>3)</sup> nu kho pahoti sotthiṃ<sup>4)</sup> sinâniṃ âdâya nadiṃ gantvâ rajojallam pavâhetum no khattiyo no vesso no suddo ti. no h'idaṃ bho Gotama. khattiyo pi hi bho Gotama pahoti sotthiṃ sinâniṃ âdâya nadiṃ gantvâ rajojallam<sup>5)</sup> pavâhetum. brâhmaṇo<sup>6)</sup> pi hi bho Gotama — pe — vesso pi hi bho Gotama suddo pi hi bho Gotama sabbe pi hi bho Gotama cattâro vaṇṇâ pahonti sotthiṃ sinâniṃ âdâya nadiṃ gantvâ rajojallam<sup>7)</sup> pavâhetun<sup>8)</sup> ti. ettha Assalâyana brâhmaṇânaṃ kiṃ balaṃ ko assâso yad' ettha brâhmaṇâ evaṃ âhaṃsu: brâhmaṇâ va seṭṭho vaṇṇo hîno<sup>9)</sup> añño vaṇṇo — pe — brahmadâyâdâ ti. kiṃ<sup>10)</sup> câpi bhavaṃ Gotamo evaṃ âha. atha kho ettha<sup>11)</sup> brâhmaṇâ evaṃ etaṃ maññanti: brâhmaṇâ va seṭṭho vaṇṇo hîno<sup>12)</sup> añño vaṇṇo — pe — brahmadâyâdâ ti. taṃ kiṃ maññasi Assalâyana. idha râjâ khattiyo muddhâvasitto nânâjaccânaṃ purisânaṃ purisasaṭaṃ<sup>13)</sup> sannipâteyya: âyantu bhonto ye tattha khattiyakulâ brâhmaṇakulâ râjaññakulâ uppannâ<sup>14)</sup> sâlassa vâ salaṭassa<sup>15)</sup> vâ candanassa vâ padumassa vâ uttarâraṇiṃ âdâya aggim abhinibbattentu tejo pâtukarontu; âyantu pana bhonto ye tattha caṇḍâlakulâ nesâdakulâ venakulâ<sup>16)</sup> rathakâarakulâ pukkusakulâ uppannâ sâpânadoniyâ<sup>17)</sup> vâ sûkaradoniyâ<sup>17)</sup> vâ rajakadoniyâ<sup>17)</sup> vâ elañḍakatṭhassa vâ uttarâraṇiṃ âdâya aggim abhinibbattentu tejo pâtukarontu ti.<sup>18)</sup> taṃ kiṃ maññasi Assa-

<sup>1)</sup> c d d. hîno (sic.) <sup>2)</sup> c d d. om. — pe — <sup>3)</sup> Y o m. 'dha D va. <sup>4)</sup> YD sotthiyaṃ. <sup>5)</sup> S "jallam. <sup>6)</sup> c d d. brâhmano <sup>7)</sup> S "jallam. <sup>8)</sup> S "hetum. <sup>9)</sup> c d d. hîno. <sup>10)</sup> YS kiṃ <sup>11)</sup> Y'ttha. <sup>12)</sup> c d d. hîno. <sup>13)</sup> S purisakasataṃ. <sup>14)</sup> Y 2. hđ. D uppanna. <sup>15)</sup> SY salaṭassa D salaṭassa. <sup>16)</sup> YD vena' <sup>17)</sup> YD doniyâ <sup>18)</sup> Y<sup>o</sup> karontu, o m. ti.



lâyana.<sup>1)</sup> yo<sup>2)</sup> evan<sup>3)</sup> nu kho so khattiyakulâ brâhmaṇa-  
kulâ rājaññakulâ uppannehi<sup>4)</sup> sâlassa vâ salalassa<sup>5)</sup>  
vâ candanassa vâ padumakassa vâ uttarâraṇiṃ âdâya  
aggi<sup>6)</sup> abhinibbatto tejo pātukato so<sup>7)</sup> evan<sup>8)</sup> nu khv  
âssa<sup>9)</sup> aggi<sup>10)</sup> accimâ ca<sup>11)</sup> vaṇṇimâ<sup>12)</sup> ca pabhassaro ca  
tena ca sakkâ agginâ<sup>13)</sup> aggikaraṇīyaṃ<sup>14)</sup> kâtum, yo  
pana<sup>15)</sup> so caṇḍâlakulâ nesâdakulâ veṇakulâ<sup>16)</sup> ratha-  
kâarakulâ pukkusakulâ uppannehi<sup>17)</sup> sâpânadoniyâ<sup>18)</sup> vâ  
sûkaradoniyâ<sup>19)</sup> vâ rajakadoniyâ<sup>20)</sup> vâ<sup>21)</sup> elaṇḍakatthas-  
sa vâ uttarâraṇiṃ âdâya aggi<sup>22)</sup> abhinibbatto tejo pā-  
tukato sv âssa aggi na<sup>23)</sup> ceva accimâ na ca vaṇṇi-  
mâ<sup>24)</sup> na ca pabhassaro na<sup>25)</sup> ca tena sakkâ agginâ<sup>26)</sup>  
aggikaraṇīyaṃ kâtun ti. no h'idaṃ bho Gotama. yo so  
bho Gotama khattiyakulâ brâhmaṇakulâ rājaññakulâ uppa-  
nnehi sâlassa vâ salalassa<sup>27)</sup> vâ candanassa vâ padumassa  
vâ uttarâraṇiṃ âdâya aggi<sup>28)</sup> abhinibbatto tejo pātukato  
sv âssa aggi accimâ ca vaṇṇimâ<sup>29)</sup> ca pabhassaro ca<sup>30)</sup>  
tena ca sakkâ agginâ<sup>31)</sup> aggikaraṇīyaṃ kâtum. yo pi so  
caṇḍâlakulâ nesâdakulâ veṇakulâ<sup>32)</sup> rathakâarakulâ pukku-  
sakulâ uppannehi sâpânadoniyâ<sup>33)</sup> vâ sûkaradoniyâ<sup>34)</sup>  
vâ rajakadoniyâ<sup>35)</sup> vâ elaṇḍakatthassa vâ uttarâraṇiṃ âdâ-  
ya aggi<sup>36)</sup> abhinibbatto tejo pātukato so c'assa<sup>37)</sup> aggi

1) S<sup>0</sup> yano. 2) YD om. yo. 3) Y evaṃ. 4) Y uppannassa hi  
5) SY salalassa. 6) c d d. aggim. 7) YS om. so. 8) Y evaṃ  
9) YS assa. 10) YD aggim. 11) YS va. 12) YD vaṇṇavâ  
13) YD agginâ. 14) D aggim kara<sup>0</sup>. 15) D yo pâna so pâna  
so. 16) YD vena<sup>0</sup>. 17) Y (SD?) upannehi. 18) YD "doniyâ  
19) c d d. "doniyâ. 20) YD "doniyâ. 21) S om. vâ. 22) om.  
Y; SD aggim. 23) S aggi D agginâñ. 24) Y 2. hd. D  
vaṇṇivâ. 25) YD ṇa. 26) YD agginâ. 27) SY salalassa  
28) YD aggim. 29) Y vaṇṇavâ. 30) YD om. ca. 31) YD  
agginâ. 32) YD vena<sup>0</sup>. 33) YD "doniyâ. 34) c d d. "doniyâ.  
35) YD "doniyâ. 36) c d d. aggim. 37) YD ass'.

accimâ ca vaṇṇimâ<sup>1)</sup> ca pabhassaro ca tena pi ca sakkâ agginâ<sup>2)</sup> aggikaraṇīyaṃ kattum; sabbo<sup>3)</sup> pi<sup>4)</sup> hi bho Gotama aggi accimâ ca<sup>5)</sup> vaṇṇimâ ca<sup>6)</sup> pabhassaro ca sabbena pi ca sakkâ agginâ<sup>7)</sup> aggikaraṇīyaṃ kattun ti. ettha Assalâyana brâhmaṇânaṃ kiṃ<sup>8)</sup> balaṃ ko assâso yad' ettha brâhmaṇâ evaṃ âhaṃsu: brâhmaṇâ va seṭṭho vaṇṇo hīno<sup>9)</sup> añño<sup>10)</sup> vaṇṇo, brâhmaṇâ va sukko vaṇṇo kaṇho añño vaṇṇo, brâhmaṇâ va sujjhanti no abrahmaṇâ<sup>11)</sup>, brâhmaṇâ<sup>12)</sup> va<sup>12)</sup> brahmuno puttâ orasâ mukhato jâtâ brahmajâ brahmanimmitâ brahmadâyâdâ ti. kiñ cāpi bhavaṃ Gotamo evaṃ âha. atha kho ettha brâhmaṇâ evaṃ etaṃ maññanti: brâhmaṇâ va seṭṭho vaṇṇo hīno<sup>13)</sup> añño vaṇṇo — pe — brahmadâyâdâ ti. taṃ kiṃ maññasi Assalâyana. idha khattiyakumâro brâhmaṇakaññâya saddhiṃ saṃvâsaṃ kappeyya, tesam<sup>14)</sup> saṃvâsaṃ<sup>15)</sup> anvâya putto jâyetha; yo so khattiyakumâreṇa<sup>16)</sup> brâhmaṇakaññâya putto uppanno siyâ so mâtu pi<sup>17)</sup> sadiso pitu pi<sup>17)</sup> sadiso khattiyo ti pi vattabbo brâhmaṇo<sup>18)</sup> ti pi vattabbo ti. yo<sup>19)</sup> so bho Gotama khattiyakumâreṇa<sup>20)</sup> brâhmaṇakaññâya putto uppanno siyâ so mâtu pi sadiso pitu pi sadiso khattiyo ti pi vattabbo brâhmaṇo ti pi vattabbo ti.<sup>21)</sup> taṃ kiṃ maññasi Assalâyana. idha brâhmaṇakumâro khattiyakaññâya saddhiṃ saṃvâsaṃ<sup>22)</sup> kappeyya, tesam saṃvâsaṃ<sup>22)</sup> anvâya putto jâyetha, yo so brâhmaṇakumâreṇa<sup>23)</sup> khattiyakaññâya putto uppanno siyâ so

1) Y vaṇṇavâ. 2) YD agginâ 3) om. Y; SD sabbe. 4) In Y the words from pi to pabhassaro ca are inclosed into brackets. 5) om. YD. 6) om. Y. 7) YD agginâ. 8) S kam. 9) YD hīno. 10) Y in s. hi. 11) S aññabrâhmaṇâ D °nâ; S in s. va. 12) om. D. 13) cdd. hīno. 14) S nesaṃ?. 15) D sanvâsaṃ. 16) S °rena. 17) om. S. 18) D °nâ. 19) om. YD. 20) S rena. 21) om. YD. 22) D sanvâ ° 23) S °rena.

mātu pi sadiso pitu pi sadiso khattiyo ti pi vattabbo  
brâhmaṇo ti pi vattabbo ti. yo so bho Gotama brâh-  
maṇakumâreṇa<sup>1)</sup> khattiyakaññâya putto uppanno siyâ  
so mâtu pi sadiso pitu pi sadiso khattiyo ti pi vattab-  
bo brâhmaṇo ti pi vattabbo. taṃ kiṃ maññasi Assa-  
lâyana. idha vaḷavaṃ<sup>2)</sup> gadrabhena sampayojeyyuṃ,  
tesaṃ sampayogaṃ anvâya kisoro<sup>3)</sup> jâyetha, yo<sup>4)</sup> so  
vaḷavâya<sup>4)</sup> gadrabhena kisoro<sup>5)</sup> uppanno siyâ so<sup>6)</sup> mâ-  
tu pi sadiso pitu pi sadiso<sup>7)</sup> asso ti pi vattabbo ga-  
drabho ti pi<sup>8)</sup> vattabbo ti. vekurañjâya<sup>9)</sup> hi so bho  
Gotama assataro hoti; idam hi'ssa bho Gotama nânâ-  
karaṇaṃ passâmi, amutra pana tesânaṃ<sup>10)</sup> na kiñ<sup>11)</sup> ci  
nânâkaraṇaṃ passâmî ti. taṃ kiṃ maññasi Assalâyana.  
idh' assu dve mâṇavakâ bhâtaro saüdariyâ, eko ajjhâyako  
upanîto eko anajjhâyako anupanîto.<sup>12)</sup> kaṃ<sup>13)</sup> ettha  
brâhmaṇâ paṭhamam bhojeyyuṃ saddhe vâ thâlîpâke<sup>14)</sup>  
vâ yaññe vâ pâhuṇe<sup>15)</sup> vâ<sup>16)</sup> ti. yo so bho Gotama  
mâṇavako<sup>17)</sup> ajjhâyako upanîto taṃ ettha brâhmaṇâ  
paṭhamam bhojeyyuṃ<sup>18)</sup> saddhe vâ thâlîpâke<sup>19)</sup> vâ  
yaññe vâ pâhuṇe vâ. kiṃ hi bho Gotama anajjhâyake  
anupanîte dinnam mahapphalaṃ bhavissatî ti. taṃ kiṃ  
maññasi Assalâyana. idh' assu<sup>20)</sup> dve mâṇavakâ bhâtaro  
saüdariyâ, eko ajjhâyako upanîto dussîlo pâpadhammo  
eko anajjhâyako anupanîto sîlavâ kalyâṇadhammo.<sup>21)</sup>  
kaṃ ettha brâhmaṇâ paṭhamam bhojeyyuṃ saddhe  
vâ thâlîpâke vâ yaññe vâ pâhuṇe vâ ti. yo so bho

<sup>1)</sup> S ° rena. <sup>2)</sup> c d d. vala°. <sup>3)</sup> D kiserō. <sup>4)</sup> YD o m.  
yo. <sup>5)</sup> D kiserō. <sup>6)</sup> o m. c d d. <sup>7)</sup> YS add ti. <sup>8)</sup> o m.  
c d d. <sup>9)</sup> Y vekurajaya. <sup>10)</sup> SD sânaṃ; om. Y, but has a  
gap. <sup>11)</sup> YS kañ. <sup>12)</sup> D has throughout añu°. <sup>13)</sup> c d d.  
kataṃ. <sup>14)</sup> c d d. thâlî°. <sup>15)</sup> D pâhuno. <sup>16)</sup> D no vâ. <sup>17)</sup> YD  
mâṇavako. <sup>18)</sup> Y (SD?) bhogojeyyum. <sup>19)</sup> c d d. thâlî°  
<sup>20)</sup> YD assa. <sup>21)</sup> YD kalyâṇa°.

Gotama māṇavako anajjhāyako anupanīto sīlavā kal-  
yāṇadhammo taṃ ettha brāhmaṇā paṭhamam bhojeyyūṃ  
saddhe vā thālīpāke<sup>1)</sup> vā yaññe vā pāhuṇe vā. kiṃ  
hi<sup>2)</sup> bho Gotama dussīle pāpadhamme dinnaṃ maha-  
pphalaṃ bhavissatī ti. pubbe kho tvam Assalāyana  
jātim<sup>3)</sup> agamāsi jātim gantvā mante agamāsi mante  
gantvā taṃ etaṃ tvam cātuvaṇṇim<sup>4)</sup> suddhim paccājāto<sup>5)</sup>  
yaṃ ahaṃ paññāpemī ti. evaṃ vutte Assalāyano mā-  
ṇavo tuṇhībhūto maṅkubhūto<sup>6)</sup> pattakkhandho adhomu-  
kho pajjhāyanto appaṭibhāno nisīdi. atha kho Bhagavā  
Assalāyanam māṇavam tuṇhībhūtaṃ maṅkubhūtaṃ<sup>7)</sup>  
pattakkhandham adhomukham pajjhāyantaṃ appaṭibhā-  
nam veditvā Assalāyanam māṇavam etad avoca: bhū-  
tapubbaṃ Assalāyana sattannaṃ brāhmaṇisīnam<sup>8)</sup>  
araññāyatane paṇṇakuṭṭisu<sup>9)</sup> sammantānam evarūpaṃ  
pāpakaṃ diṭṭhigataṃ uppannaṃ hoti: brāhmaṇā va  
setṭho vaṇṇo hīno<sup>10)</sup> añño vaṇṇo — pe — brahma-  
dāyādā ti. assosi kho Assalāyana Asito<sup>11)</sup> Devalo  
isi: sattannaṃ kira brāhmaṇisīnam<sup>12)</sup> araññāyatane paṇṇa-  
kuṭṭisu<sup>13)</sup> sammantānam evarūpaṃ pāpakaṃ diṭṭhiga-  
taṃ uppannaṃ hoti<sup>14)</sup>: brāhmaṇā va setṭho vaṇṇo  
hīno<sup>15)</sup> añño vaṇṇo — pe — brahmadāyādā ti. atha  
kho Assalāyana Asito<sup>16)</sup> Devalo isi kesamassuṃ kappe-  
tvā mañjetṭhavaṇṇāni dussāni nivāsetvā aṭaliyo upāha-  
nā<sup>17)</sup> ārohitvā jātārūpamayaṃ daṇḍam gahetvā sat-  
tannaṃ brāhmaṇisīnam<sup>18)</sup> patthaṇḍile<sup>19)</sup> pātur ahosi.  
atha kho Assalāyana Asito Devalo isi sattannaṃ brā-  
hmaṇisīnam<sup>20)</sup> patthaṇḍile<sup>21)</sup> caṅkamamāno<sup>22)</sup> evaṃ

<sup>1)</sup> c d d. thālī<sup>0</sup>. <sup>2)</sup> S ins. so. <sup>3)</sup> c d d. jāti. <sup>4)</sup> D mâvannī  
(sic). <sup>5)</sup> D pabbājāto. <sup>6)</sup> c d d. maṅku<sup>0</sup>. <sup>7)</sup> YD maṅku<sup>0</sup> S  
o m. <sup>8)</sup> D "ni<sup>0</sup> (?). <sup>9)</sup> YD panna<sup>0</sup>. <sup>10)</sup> c d d. hīno. <sup>11)</sup> D  
Asīto. <sup>12)</sup> D "ni<sup>0</sup> (?). <sup>13)</sup> YD panna<sup>0</sup>. <sup>14)</sup> Delet 2. hand in  
S. <sup>15)</sup> c d d. hīno. <sup>16)</sup> YS Asīto. <sup>17)</sup> c d d. "haṇā. <sup>18)</sup> D  
"ni<sup>0</sup>. <sup>19)</sup> D patthaṇḍe. <sup>20)</sup> D "ni<sup>0</sup>. <sup>21)</sup> D patta<sup>0</sup>. <sup>22)</sup> c d d. caṅka<sup>0</sup>.



âha : handa ko nu kho ime bhavanto<sup>1)</sup> brâhmaṇîsayo<sup>2)</sup> gatâ, handa ko nu kho ime<sup>3)</sup> bhavanto brâhmaṇîsayo<sup>4)</sup> gatâ ti. atha kho Assalâyana sattannaṃ brâhmaṇîsînaṃ<sup>5)</sup> etad ahosi : ko n'âyam gâmaṇḍalarûpo viya sattannaṃ brâhmaṇîsînaṃ<sup>6)</sup> patthaṇḍile caṅkamamâno<sup>7)</sup> evaṃ âha : handa ko nu kho ime bhavanto brâhmaṇîsayo gatâ, handa ko nu kho ime<sup>8)</sup> bhavanto brâhmaṇîsayo<sup>9)</sup> gatâ ti; handa naṃ abhisapâmâ ti. atha kho Assalâyana satta brâhmaṇîsayo<sup>10)</sup> Asitaṃ Devalaṃ isiṃ<sup>11)</sup> abhisapiṃsu : bhasmaṃ<sup>12)</sup> vasalo<sup>13)</sup> hohî ti. yathâ yathâ kho Assalâyana satta brâhmaṇîsayo<sup>14)</sup> Asitaṃ Devalaṃ isiṃ abhisapiṃsu tathâ tathâ Asito Devalo isi abhirûpataro ceva hoti dassanîyataro<sup>15)</sup> ca pâsâdikataro ca. atha kho Assalâyana sattannaṃ brâhmaṇîsînaṃ etad ahosi : moghaṃ vata no tapo aphalaṃ brahmacariyaṃ; mayaṃ hi pubbe yaṃ abhisapâma<sup>16)</sup> bhasmaṃ vasalo hohî<sup>17)</sup> ti bhasmaṃ va bhavati<sup>18)</sup> ekacco; imaṃ pana mayaṃ yathâ yathâ abhisapâma tathâ tathâ abhirûpataro ceva<sup>19)</sup> hoti<sup>20)</sup> dassanîyataro ca pâsâdikataro câ ti. na bhavantânaṃ moghaṃ tapo aphalaṃ brahmacariyaṃ; idha<sup>21)</sup> bhavanto yo<sup>22)</sup> mayi manopadoso taṃ pajahathâ ti. yo<sup>23)</sup> bhavati manopadoso taṃ<sup>24)</sup> pajahâma; ko nu bhavaṃ hotî ti. suto no bhavataṃ<sup>25)</sup> Asito<sup>26)</sup> Devalo isî ti. evaṃ bho. so khv âhaṃ<sup>27)</sup> homî<sup>28)</sup> ti.

1) D bhavaṃte. 2) D °ni°. 3) YD 'me. 4) D °ni°. 5) D °ni°. 6) D °ni°. 7) c d d. caṅka°; YD °mâno. 8) YD 'me. 9) D °niyo. 10) D °ni°. 11) D isi. 12) S bhasmañ. 13) S casalo. 14) Y °ñiyaso S °ñiyaso D °niyaso. 15) D dassanikataro. 16) Y (SD?) ahi°. 17) SD hosi. 18) S bhasmâ cavati D bhasmâ va ca sati. 19) YS ca, but Y i. hd. ca va. 20) D hosi. 21) S iṅgha D isi. 22) D so. 23) Y so. 24) S tam. 25) D bhavantaṃ. 26) Y Asito. 27) S ins. bho 28) D bhomî.

atha kho Assalâyana satta brâhmaṇîsayo<sup>1)</sup> Asitaṃ Devalaṃ isiṃ abhivâdetuṃ upasaṃkamim̐su<sup>2)</sup>. atha kho Assalâyana Asito Devalo isi satta brâhmaṇîsayo<sup>3)</sup> etad avoca: sutam me tam bho sattannaṃ kira brâhmaṇîsinaṃ<sup>4)</sup> araṇṇâyatane paṇṇakuṭṭisu<sup>5)</sup> sammantânaṃ<sup>6)</sup> evarûpaṃ pâpakaṃ diṭṭhigataṃ uppannaṃ: brâhmaṇâ va seṭṭho vaṇṇo hîno<sup>7)</sup> aṇṇo vaṇṇo, brâhmaṇâ va sukko vaṇṇo kaṇho aṇṇo vaṇṇo, brâhmaṇâ va sujjhanti no<sup>8)</sup> abrâhmaṇâ, brâhmaṇâ va brahmuno<sup>9)</sup> puttâ orasâ mukhato jâtâ brahmajâ brahmanimmitâ<sup>10)</sup> brahmadâyâdâ ti. evaṃ<sup>11)</sup> bho. jânanti pana bhonto yâ janîmâtâ<sup>12)</sup> brâhmaṇaṃ yeva agamâsi no abrâhmaṇan ti. no h'idam bho. jânanti<sup>13)</sup> pana bhonto yâ<sup>14)</sup> janîmâtû<sup>15)</sup> mâtâ yâva sattamâ mâtâmahayugâ brâhmaṇaṃ yeva agamâsi no abrâhmaṇan ti. no h'idam bho. jânanti<sup>16)</sup> pana bhonto yo<sup>17)</sup> janîpitâ brâhmaṇim̐<sup>18)</sup> yeva agamâsi no abrâhmaṇin<sup>19)</sup> ti. no h'idam bho. jânanti pana bhonto yo<sup>20)</sup> janîpitu pitâ yâva sattamâ<sup>21)</sup> pitâmahayugâ<sup>22)</sup> brâhmaṇim̐<sup>23)</sup> yeva agamâsi no abrâhmaṇin<sup>24)</sup> ti. no h' idam<sup>25)</sup> bho. jânanti pana bhonto yathâ gabbhassa avakkanti hotî ti.<sup>26)</sup> jânâma mayaṃ bho yathâ gabbhassa avakkanti hoti<sup>27)</sup>. idha mâtâpitaro vasanti patitâ ca hoti<sup>28)</sup> mâtâ ca utunî hoti gandhabbo

1) S °ṇîyaso D ° ni°. 2) In S upa° is altered to pakka-mim̐su. 3) YD °ṇisayo S °ṇiyaso. 4) D ° ni°. 5) YD panna-kuṭṭim̐su. 6) Y samattânaṃ S sammattânaṃ. 7) cdd. hîno. 8) YD no. 9) YD °hmuṇo. 10) YD° ṇi°. 11) YS evam. 12) S jatî° 13) YD jânanti. 14) YS o m. yâ. 15) Y janî°. 16) YD jânanti 17) S yâ, YD o m. yo. 18) Y i. hd., SD brâhmaṇî. 19) D° hmaṇan. 20) SD yâ. Y sâ. 21) Y sattati D sattani. 22) D ° mahâ° 23) D °nim̐. 24) D °nan. 25) S idam. 26) Y avakkantî ti; Y i n s. na. 27) Y hotî ti. 28) Y idha mâtâpitaro ca sannipatitâ honti D vasanti patinâ ca utunî hoti S patitâ ca honti.

ca paccupaṭṭhito<sup>1)</sup> hoti; evaṃ tiṇṇaṃ sannipâtâ<sup>2)</sup> gabbhassa avakkanti hoti ti. jânanti pana bhonto yagghi so gandhabbo<sup>3)</sup> khattiyo vâ brâhmaṇo vâ vesso vâ suddo vâ ti. na mayam bho<sup>4)</sup> jânâma yagghi so gandhabbo khattiyo vâ brâhmaṇo vâ vesso vâ suddo vâ ti. bho jânâtha ke tumhe hothâ<sup>5)</sup> ti. evaṃ sante bho na mayam jânâma ke ci<sup>6)</sup> mayam homâ ti. te<sup>7)</sup> hi nâma Assalâyana<sup>8)</sup> satta brâhmaṇisayo Asitena Devalena isinâ sake jâtivâde samanuyuññijyamânâ<sup>9)</sup> samanubhâsiyamânâ samanuggâhiyamânâ<sup>10)</sup> na<sup>11)</sup> sampâyissanti; kiṃ pana tvaṃ etarahi mayâ sakasmim jâtivâde samanuyuññijyamâno<sup>12)</sup> samanubhâsiyamâno<sup>13)</sup> samanuggâhiyamâno<sup>14)</sup> sampâyissasi<sup>15)</sup> yesam tvaṃ sâcariyako<sup>15a)</sup> na Puṇṇo dabbigâho<sup>16)</sup> ti. evaṃ vutte Assalâyano mâṇavo Bhagavantam etad avoca: abhikkantaṃ bho Gotama, abhikkantaṃ bho Gotama; upâsakaṃ<sup>17)</sup> maṃ bhavaṃ Gotamo dhâretu<sup>18)</sup> ajjatagge paṇupetaṃ<sup>19)</sup> saraṇaṃ gataṃ ti.

ASSALÂYANASUTTANTAM<sup>20)</sup> NIṬṬHITAM TATIYAM.

<sup>1)</sup> D paccuppa<sup>o</sup>. <sup>2)</sup> S sannipatitâ. <sup>3)</sup> D <sup>o</sup> bbâ. <sup>4)</sup> YD om. bho. <sup>5)</sup> YD, S i. hd. bhotâ. <sup>6)</sup> S pi. <sup>7)</sup> Y ye. <sup>8)</sup> YD i ns. brâhmaṇâ. <sup>9)</sup> cdd. <sup>o</sup> ñjî<sup>o</sup>. <sup>10)</sup> cdd. <sup>o</sup> anugâhi<sup>o</sup>. <sup>11)</sup> Y om. na. <sup>12)</sup> cdd. <sup>o</sup> ñjî<sup>o</sup> Y <sup>o</sup> mâne. <sup>13)</sup> Y <sup>o</sup> mâne. <sup>14)</sup> cdd. <sup>o</sup> anugâhi<sup>o</sup> Y <sup>o</sup> mâne. <sup>15)</sup> YD <sup>o</sup> yissati. <sup>15a)</sup> Thus commentary; cdd. sâmariryako. <sup>16)</sup> D dabbîhâ hoti. <sup>17)</sup> SD <sup>o</sup> sakam. <sup>18)</sup> D dhâretuṃ. <sup>19)</sup> YD paṇu<sup>o</sup>. <sup>20)</sup> Y<sup>o</sup> suttan.

## COMMENTARY.

evaṃ me sutanti Assalâyanasuttam. tattha nânâve-  
 rajjakânan<sup>1)</sup> ti AṅgaMagadhâdîhi nânappakârehi  
 verajjehi<sup>2)</sup> âgatânaṃ tesu tesu vâ ratṭhesu jâtasam-  
 vaddhânan ti pi attho. kena ci devâ ti yaññopâsa-  
 nâdinâ<sup>3)</sup> aniyamitakiccena<sup>4)</sup>. cātuvaṇṇin ti catuvaṇṇa-  
 sâdhâraṇaṃ; mayaṃ pana nahânasuddhiyâ pi<sup>5)</sup> bhâ-  
 vanâsuddhiyâ pi brâhmaṇâ va sujjhantî ti vadâma,  
 ayuttam samaṇo Gotamo karotî ti maññamânâ<sup>6)</sup> evaṃ  
 cintayimsu. vuttasiro ti vâpitasiro<sup>7)</sup>. dhammavâdî  
 ti sabhâvavâdî<sup>8)</sup>. duppatimantiyâ<sup>9)</sup> ti amhâdisahi adham-  
 mavâdîhi dukkheṇa<sup>10)</sup> patimantetabbâ honti dhamma-  
 vâdino nâma, parâjayo<sup>11)</sup> na sakkâ kâṭun ti dasseti.  
 paribbâjakanti pabbajjâvidhânaṃ. tayo vede uggahe-  
 tvâ sabbapacchâpabbajantâ<sup>12)</sup> yehi<sup>13)</sup> mantehi pabbajanti  
 pabbajitâ va ye mante pariharanti yaṃ vâ âcâraṃ  
 âcaranti taṃ sabbam bhotâ caritaṃ saṃsikkhitaṃ<sup>14)</sup>  
 ti; tasmâ tuyhaṃ parâjayo n' atthi, jayo va te bhavissatî  
 ti maññantâ evaṃ âhaṃsu. dissante<sup>15)</sup> kho panâ  
 ti âdi tesam laddhibhindanattam vuttam. nanu brâ-  
 hmaṇiyo<sup>16)</sup> ti brâhmaṇânaṃ puttapaṭilâbhatthâya<sup>17)</sup>  
 âvâhavivâhavasena<sup>18)</sup> kulâ ânîtâ brâhmaṇiyo<sup>19)</sup> dissanti;  
 tâ kho pan' etâ apareṇa<sup>20)</sup> samayena utuniyo pi  
 honti sañjâtapupphânî<sup>21)</sup> ti attho. gabbhiniyo ti sañ-  
 jâtagabbhâ. vijâyamânâ ti puttadhîtarô jâyamânâ.  
 pâyamânâ ti dârake thaññaṃ pâyantiyo. yonijâ tâ

<sup>1)</sup> D ° verañja°. <sup>2)</sup> D verañjehi. <sup>3)</sup> YS yaññâpâsânâ° D  
 saññâpâsânâ°. <sup>4)</sup> S aniyamikata°. <sup>5)</sup> D o m. pi. <sup>6)</sup> S °mâno.  
<sup>7)</sup> S vapita°. <sup>8)</sup> S °vâdâ D °vâdînî. <sup>9)</sup> c d d. °mantayâ. <sup>10)</sup> S  
 dukkhe. <sup>11)</sup> S parâjaye. <sup>12)</sup> D °pabbajanna. <sup>13)</sup> D yohi.  
<sup>14)</sup> YD, SI. hd. saṃsikkhitabban. <sup>15)</sup> S dissanto. <sup>16)</sup> YD  
 brâhmaṇiyâ. <sup>17)</sup> D °parilâbhattâya. <sup>18)</sup> D avâha°. <sup>19)</sup> Y  
 brâhmaṇiyâ SD °ṇiyâ. <sup>20)</sup> S aparena. <sup>21)</sup> sic YS; D °pup-  
 phinî; read °pupphâ.



va samânâ ti brâhmaṇīnaṃ<sup>1)</sup> passâvamaggena jâtâ samânâ. evaṃ âhaṃsû ti evaṃ vadanti. kathaṃ. brâhmaṇâ va seṭṭho vaṇṇo — pe — brahmadâyâdâ ti. yadi pana tesam<sup>2)</sup> saccam<sup>3)</sup> vacanam siyâ brâhmaṇīnaṃ kucchi mahâbrahmuno<sup>4)</sup> uro bhaveyya, brâhmaṇīnaṃ passâvamaggo mahâbrahmuno mukhaṃ bhaveyya, ettâvatâ mayam mahâbrahmuno<sup>5)</sup> ure vasitvâ mukhato nikkhantâ ti vattum mâ labhantû ti ayaṃ mukhato jâtacchedakavâro vutto. ayyo hutvâ dâso hoti dâso hutvâ ayyo hoti. brâhmaṇo sabhariyo vaṇijjam<sup>6)</sup> payojento<sup>7)</sup> Yonarattam vâ Kambojarattam vâ gantvâ kâlam karoti; tassa gehe vayappatte putte asati<sup>8)</sup> brâhmaṇi dâsena vâ kammakarena<sup>9)</sup> vâ sadhim vâsam kappeti<sup>10)</sup>; etasmim<sup>11)</sup> dârake jâte so puriso dâso va hoti, tassa jâtadârako pana dâyajja-sâmiko hoti mâtito suddho pitito asuddho. so vaṇijjam<sup>12)</sup> payojento majjhimapadesam gantvâ brâhmaṇa-dârikam gahetvâ tassâ<sup>13)</sup> kucchismim puttam paṭilabhati, so pi mâtito va<sup>14)</sup> suddho hoti pitito<sup>15)</sup> asuddho; evaṃ brâhmaṇasamayasmim ñeva jâtisambhedo hoti ti dassanattam etam<sup>16)</sup> vuttam. kim balaṃ ko assâso ti. yattha tumhe dâsâ hontâ<sup>17)</sup> sabbe va dâsâ hotha ayyâ hontâ sabbe va ayyâ hotha. ettha vo ko thâmo ko avassayo yena brâhmaṇâ va seṭṭho vaṇṇo ti vadathâ ti dîpeti. khattiyo<sup>18)</sup> va nu kho ti âdayo<sup>19)</sup> sukkacchedakavârâ nâma honti. idâni cattuvaṇṇim<sup>20)</sup> suddhim dassento idha râjâ ti âdim

<sup>1)</sup> D brâhmaniyânaṃ. <sup>2)</sup> SD nesam. <sup>3)</sup> Y tassa SD sacca. <sup>4)</sup> D, Y I. hd. kucchimhâ brahmuno. <sup>5)</sup> YD <sup>0</sup>hmuṇo <sup>6)</sup> c d d. vaṇijjam. <sup>7)</sup> Y yojento. <sup>8)</sup> YS aseti. <sup>9)</sup> c d d. <sup>0</sup>karane. <sup>10)</sup> D kappoti. <sup>11)</sup> D etasmi. <sup>12)</sup> YD vaṇijjam. <sup>13)</sup> c d d. tassa. <sup>14)</sup> S ca. <sup>15)</sup> S pîtito. <sup>16)</sup> D <sup>0</sup> ttham metam. <sup>17)</sup> SY, Y I. hd. honto. <sup>18)</sup> D khattiye. <sup>19)</sup> YS a d d ti. <sup>20)</sup> YS ca<sup>0</sup> In Y m erased(?)

âha. sâpânadoṇiyo<sup>1)</sup> ti sunakhânaṃ<sup>2)</sup> pivana-  
doṇiyo<sup>3)</sup>. aggikaraṇīyaṃ ti sîtavinodanaandhakâra-  
vidhamanabhattachapacanaḍi<sup>4)</sup> aggikiccaṃ. etth' Assa-  
lâyanaṃ ti. ettha sabbasmiṃ aggikiccaṃ karonto idāni  
yad' etaṃ brâhmaṇa va<sup>5)</sup> catuvaṇṇi<sup>6)</sup> suddhî ti va-  
danti ettha catuvaṇṇo<sup>7)</sup> ti niyamo n' atthi; pañcamo hi  
pârasakavaṇṇo pi atthi ti samkhittena tesam vâde  
dosadassanattama idha khattiyakumâro ti âdiṃ  
âha. tattha amutra ca<sup>8)</sup> pana tesânaṃ<sup>9)</sup> ti amus-  
miṃ<sup>10)</sup> ca pana purimanaye etesânaṃ mâṇavakânaṃ<sup>11)</sup>  
kiṃ ci nânâkaraṇaṃ na passâmî ti vadati; nânâka-  
raṇaṃ pana tesam pi atthi yeva; khattiyakumârassa  
hi brâhmaṇakakāṇṇâya uppanno khattiyapârasako nâma,  
itaro brâhmaṇapârasako<sup>12)</sup> nâma, ete hi na jâtimaṇa-  
vakâ; evaṃ pañcamassa vaṇṇassa atthitâya catuvaṇ-  
ṇi<sup>13)</sup> suddhî ti etesam vâde dosam dassetvâ<sup>14)</sup> idāni  
puna catuvaṇṇiṃ<sup>15)</sup> suddhiyaṃ otârento<sup>16)</sup> taṃ kiṃ  
maññasî ti âdiṃ âha. tattha saddhe ti mataka-  
bhatte; thâlipâke<sup>17)</sup> ti paṇṇâkârabhatte; yaññe<sup>18)</sup> ti  
yaññabhatte<sup>19)</sup>; pâhune<sup>20)</sup> ti âgantukânaṃ katabhatte.  
kiṃ hî ti. kiṃ mahapphalaṃ bhavissati<sup>21)</sup>, na<sup>21)</sup> bha-  
vissati ti dîpeti. bhûta pubbaṃ ti. Assalâyana pubbe  
mayi jâtiyâ hînatara tumhe seṭṭhatarâ samâna<sup>22)</sup> pi  
mayâ jâtivâde pañhaṃ puṭṭhâ sampâdetuṃ nâsak-  
khittha, idāni tumhe hînatara hutvâ mayâ seṭṭhatarena<sup>23)</sup>  
Buddhena<sup>24)</sup> sake jâtivâde pañhaṃ puṭṭhâ kiṃ sam-

1) YD<sup>0</sup> doniyo. 2) cdd. suṇa<sup>0</sup> SD<sup>0</sup> khânam. 3) S<sup>0</sup> doṇiyâ.  
4) D<sup>0</sup> vinodanândhakâra<sup>0</sup>. 5) S vâ. 6) S catu<sup>0</sup> cdd. vaṇṇi.  
7) S catu<sup>0</sup>. 8) D<sup>0</sup> traṇ ca. 9) cdd. sânan. 10) YD amusmiṃ.  
11) S mâna. 12) D<sup>0</sup> pâraako. 13) SD catu<sup>0</sup> YS<sup>0</sup> vaṇṇi.  
14) D datvâ. 15) YS<sup>0</sup> vaṇṇi D<sup>0</sup> vannî. 16) cdd. dhata<sup>0</sup>. 17) cdd.  
thâli<sup>0</sup>. 18) YD yaṇṇan. 19) YD yaṇṇa<sup>0</sup>. 20) D pâpune. 21) o m.  
S. 22) Y yamânâ. 23) S<sup>0</sup> rena. 24) D Buddhona.

pâdessatha na<sup>1)</sup> ettha cintâ kâtabbâ ti mânavam<sup>2)</sup>  
 upatthambhento imam desanam ârabhi<sup>3)</sup>. tattha asito  
 ti kâlako<sup>4)</sup>. Devalo ti tassa namam; ayam<sup>5)</sup> eva  
 Bhagavâ tena samayena. aṭaliyo ti gaṇaṅgaṇaüpâ-  
 hanâ<sup>6)</sup>. patthaṇḍile ti paṇṇasâlapariveṇe<sup>7)</sup>. ko nu  
 kho ti kahan nu kho. gâmaṇḍalarûpo<sup>8)</sup> viyâ  
 ti gâmadâarakarûpo viya. so kho ambho<sup>9)</sup> homî<sup>10)</sup>  
 ti bho aham so Asita-Devalo homî<sup>11)</sup> ti vadati. tadâ  
 kira mahâsatto<sup>12)</sup> Koṇḍadamo hutvâ vicarati. abhi-  
 vâdetum pakkamimsû<sup>13)</sup> ti vanditum upakkamam  
 akamsu. tadâ patthâya ca vassasatikatâpaso pi  
 tadâhu jâtabrâhmaṇakumâram avandanto koṭṭhito (?)  
 sukoṭṭhito (?) hoti. janîmâtâ<sup>14)</sup> ti yâ sâ tumhe  
 janikâ sâ<sup>15)</sup> vo janikâ mâtâ<sup>16)</sup>. janîmâtû ti janikâya  
 mâtuyâ. janîpitâ<sup>17)</sup> ti yo janiko pitâ so<sup>18)</sup>  
 janîpitâ<sup>19)</sup>. te va vâ pâṭho. Asitenâ ti pañcâbhiñ-  
 ñena Asitena Devalena isinâ imam gandhabbapañham<sup>20)</sup>  
 puṭṭhâ na sampâyissanti. yesam<sup>20a)</sup> sattannam isinam.  
 na<sup>21)</sup> Puṇṇo dabbigâho ti. tesam sattannam isinam  
 dabbim gahetvâ paṇṇam pacitvâ dâyako Puṇṇo nâma  
 eko ahosi; so dabbigaṇhasippam<sup>22)</sup> jânâti, tvam sâ ca-  
 riyako tesam Puṇṇo pi na hosi<sup>23)</sup>, tena ñâtadabbiga-  
 ṇhasippamattam<sup>24)</sup> pi na jânâsî ti. sesam sabbattha  
 uttânam eva. ayam pana Assalâyano saddho ahosi

1) om. Y. 2) YD mânavam. 3) S ârabhi. 4) c d d. kâlako  
 5) S aham. 6) Y gaṇaṅgaṇa ° D hanaṅgaṇa °. 7) Y ° vene  
 D ° vena. 8) YS gâmaṇḍala ° D gâmamamaṇḍalarûpo. 9) S  
 hambho. 10) D gomî. 11) D hoti. 12) D ° sattâ. 13) c d d.  
 ° mimsu. 14) D janîmâtâ. 15) S yâ. 16) D tâ. 17) S jani°  
 18) c d d. yo. 19) S jani° Apparently mutilated. 20) D  
 gandhapañham. 20a) c d d. sesam. 21) YD om. na. 22) ŠD  
 dabbim gaṇha° 23) c d d. hoti. 24) ŠD, Y 1. hd. ñâti°



pasanno attano antonivesane yeva cetiyaṃ kâresi  
yâv' ajja divasâ Assalâyanavaṃse jâtâ<sup>1)</sup> nivesanaṃ  
kâretvâ antonivesane cetiyaṃ kârento vâ ti.

### ASSALÂYANASUTTAVAṆṆANÂ<sup>2)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> D jâ. <sup>2)</sup> YD Assalâyanasuttaṃ tatiyaṃ.

**TRANSLATION.**

## PRAISE BE TO HIM WHO IS THE BLESSED, THE HOLY, THE THOROUGHLY ENLIGHTENED!

Thus I have heard. At one time the Blessed one dwelt at Sâvatthî at Jetavana in the grove of Anâthapiṇḍika. Now at that time five hundred Brahmans of different countries lived at Sâvatthî for some religious purpose. Then these Brahmans thought thus: This ascetic Gotama proclaims the purity of (all) the four castes, who then is able to reply to the ascetic Gotama on this matter? Now at that time there dwelt at Sâvatthî a youth named Assalâyana, a young man with his head shaven, who had reached sixteen years of age and who was versed in the three Vedas with their complements, Nighaṇṭu, Keṭubha, the etymological science and the Itihâsas (which are) the fifth Veda, who was familiar with the Padapâṭha, a grammarian, and perfectly acquainted with casuistry and the science of fortune telling. Then those Brahmans thought thus: This youth Assalâyana lives at Sâvatthî. He is a young man with his head shaven, who has reached sixteen years of age and who is versed in the three Vedas with their complements, Nighaṇṭu, Keṭubha, the etymological science

and the Itihâsas (which are) the fifth Veda. He is familiar with the Padapâṭha, a grammarian, and perfectly acquainted with casuistry and the science of fortune telling. He is, no doubt, able to reply to the ascetic Gotama on this matter. Then those Brahmans went to Assalâyana and having approached him said to him: »This ascetic Gotama, o Assalâyana, proclaims the purity of (all) the four castes; go and reply to the ascetic Gotama on this matter.« Assalâyana thus addressed by the Brahmans, answered: »The ascetic Gotama is speaking orthodoxally and to persons speaking orthodoxally it is very difficult to reply. I am not able to reply to the ascetic Gotama on this matter.« And for the second time the Brahmans said to the youth Assalâyana: »This ascetic Gotama, o Assalâyana, proclaims the purity of (all) the four castes; go and reply to the ascetic Gotama on this matter. You have practised the duties of a religious life.« And for the second time the youth Assalâyana said to the Brahmans: »The ascetic Gotama is speaking orthodoxally and to persons speaking orthodoxally it is very difficult to reply. I am not able to reply to the ascetic Gotama on this matter.« And for the third time the Brahmans said to the youth Assalâyana: »This ascetic Gotama, o Assalâyana, proclaims the purity of (all) the four castes; go and reply to the ascetic Gotama on this matter. You have practised the duties of a religious life. Do not allow yourself to be defeated without a combat.« Thus addressed, the youth Assalâyana said to the Brahmans: »Truly, I do not understand you. The ascetic Gotama is speaking orthodoxally and to persons speaking orthodoxally it is very difficult

to reply. I am not able to reply to the ascetic Gotama on this matter. Notwithstanding I shall go in deference to your wishes.« Then the youth Assalâyana went to the Blessed one accompanied by a great number of Brahmans and having approached him, he friendly greeted the Blessed one and having exchanged with him the compliments of friendship and civility he seated himself near (Buddha) and having seated himself near (Buddha) the youth Assalâyana thus addressed the Blessed one: »The Brahmans, o Gotama, say thus: The Brahmans are the best caste, all the other castes are inferior to them; the Brahmans are the white caste, the other castes are black<sup>1)</sup>; the Brahmans alone are pure, not the non-Brahmans; the Brahmans are the legitimate sons of Brahmâ born from his mouth, sprung from Brahmâ, created by Brahmâ, heirs of Brahmâ. What then do you think of this, o Gotama?« »There are seen, o Assalâyana, the wives of the Brahmans menstruous, pregnant, bringing forth, suckling. And these Brahmans born from a womb, say thus: The Brahmans are the best caste, all the other castes are inferior to them; the Brahmans are the white caste, the other castes are black; the Brahmans alone are pure, not the non-Brahmans; the Brahmans are the legitimate sons of Brahmâ, born from his mouth, sprung from Brahmâ, created by Brahmâ, heirs of Brahmâ!« »It is as you say, o Gotama. Nevertheless the Brahmans assert: The Brahmans are the best caste, all the other castes are inferior to them etc.» »What do

<sup>1)</sup> »White« here means pure, and »black« impure, so that the following words repeat the same idea,

you think of this, o Assalâyana? Have you heard that there are also castes in the countries of the Yonas, the Kambojas and in other adjacent countries, masters and slaves, and that a master may become a slave and a slave a master?» »Thus, sir, I have heard. There are also castes in the countries of the Yonas, the Kambojas and in other adjacent countries, masters and slaves. A master may become a slave and a slave a master.« »What then, o Assalâyana, is the power of the Brahmans and what comfort is it to them to say: The Brahmans are the best caste, all the other castes are inferior to them etc.?» »It is as you say, o Gotama. Nevertheless the Brahmans assert: The Brahmans are the best caste, all the other castes are inferior to them etc.« »What do you think of this, o Assalâyana? A man who is a murderer, a thief, a fornicator, a lyer, a slanderer, a brute, who speaks frivolously, is covetous, malevolous, heretical — will such a man after the dissolution of the body, after death, be reborn in one of the states of suffering and punishment, in hell, if he be a Kshatriya, but not if he be a Brahman? And a Vaiçya and a Çûdra who are murderers, thieves, fornicators, lyers, slanderers, brutes, who speak frivolously, are covetous, malevolous, heretical — will they after the dissolution of the body, after death, be reborn in one of the states of suffering and punishment, in hell, but not a Brahman?» »Not so, o Gotama. Even a Kshatriya, o Gotama, who is a murderer, a thief, a fornicator, a lyer, a slanderer, a brute, who speaks frivolously, is covetous, malevolous, heretical, will after the dissolution of the body, after death, be



reborn in one of the states of suffering and punishment, in hell. And also a Brahman, o Gotama, and a Vaïçya, o Gotama, and a Çûdra, o Gotama, and all the four castes, o Gotama, if they are murderers, thieves, fornicators, lyers, slanderers, brutes, if they speak frivolously, are covetous, malevolous, heretical, will after the dissolution of the body, after death, be reborn in one of the states of suffering and punishment, in hell. « » » What then, o Assalâyana, is the power of the Brahmans and what comfort is it to them to say: The Brahmans are the best caste, all the other castes are inferior to them etc.? « « » It is as you say, o Gotama. Nevertheless the Brahmans assert: The Brahmans are the best caste, all the other castes are inferior to them etc. » » What do you think of this, o Assalâyana? A Brahman who abstains from destroying life, who abstains from stealing, who abstains from fornicating, who abstains from lying, who abstains from slander, who abstains from harsh language, who abstains from frivolous talk, who is not covetous, not malevolous, who is orthodox — will he after the dissolution of the body, after death, be reborn in a happy state, in the heavenly world, not the Kshatriyâs, not the Vaïçyâs, not the Çûdrâs? « « » Not so, o Gotama. Even a Kshatriya, o Gotama, who abstains from destroying life, who abstains from stealing, who abstains from fornicating, who abstains from lying, who abstains from slander, who abstains from harsh language, who abstains from frivolous talk, who is not covetous, not malevolous, who is orthodox, will after the dissolution of the body, after death, be reborn in a happy state, in the heavenly world. Likewise a Brahman, o Gotama,

and a Vaiçya, o Gotama, and a Çûdra, o Gotama, and all the four castes, o Gotama, if they abstain from destroying life, if they abstain from stealing, if they abstain from fornicating, if they abstain from lying, if they abstain from slander, if they abstain from harsh language, if they abstain from frivolous talk, if they are not covetous, not malevolous, if they are orthodox, will be reborn in a happy state, in the heavenly world.» »What then, o Assalâyana, is the power of the Brahmans and what comfort is it to them to say: The Brahmans are the best caste, all the other castes are inferior to them etc.?« « »It is as you say, o Gotama. Nevertheless the Brahmans assert: The Brahmans are the best caste, all the other castes are inferior to them etc.« »What do you think of this, o Assalâyana? In this country can there only a Brahman develop friendliness, absence of desire, charitable feelings, not a Kshatriya, not a Vaiçya, not a Çûdra?« « »Not so, o Gotama. In this country, o Gotama, a Kshatriya is likewise able to develop friendliness, absence of desire, charitable feelings. A Brahman also, o Gotama and a Vaiçya, o Gotama, and a Çûdra, o Gotama, and all the four castes, o Gotama, are in this country able to develop friendliness, absence of desire, charitable feelings.» »What then, o Assalâyana, is the power of the Brahmans and what comfort is it to them to say: The Brahmans are the best caste, all the other castes are inferior to them etc.« « »It is as you say, o Gotama. Nevertheless the Brahmans assert: The Brahmans are the best caste, all the other castes are inferior to them etc.« »What do you think of this, o Assalâyana? Is a Brahman who takes with him a bowl and perfumed powder



and goes to the river, able to wash away the dust and dirt, but not a Kshatriya, not a Vaiçya, not a Çûdra? « Not so, o Gotama. Even a Kshatriya, o Gotama, who takes with him a bowl and perfumed water and goes to the river, is able to wash away the dust and dirt. A Brahman also, o Gotama, and a Vaiçya, o Gotama, and a Çûdra, o Gotama, and all the four castes, o Gotama, which take with them a bowl and perfumed water and go to the river, are able to wash away the dust and dirt. « » What then, o Assalâyana, is the power of the Brahmans and what comfort is it to them to say: The Brahmans are the best caste, all the other castes are inferior to them etc. » » It is as you say, o Gotama. Nevertheless the Brahmans assert: The Brahmans are the best caste, all the other castes are inferior to them etc. « » What do you think of this, o Assalâyana? An inaugurated king of the Kshatriya caste may convoke a hundred of men of different castes (saying): Come ye along who are sprung from a Kshatriya family, a Brahman family, a royal family, taking with you an upper-araṇi<sup>1)</sup> of sâla-wood<sup>2)</sup> or of salaḥa-wood<sup>3)</sup> or of sandal-wood or of padma-wood<sup>4)</sup> light a fire and

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<sup>1)</sup> araṇi is a piece of wood used for producing, by attrition, a sacrificial fire. There are two such araṇis, an upper-araṇi and a nether-araṇi.

<sup>2)</sup> Sâla is the tree Shorea Robusta.

<sup>3)</sup> Salaḥa is the Pinus Longifolia, in Sanskrit sarala.

<sup>4)</sup> Padma is the Sanskrit padmaka. It seems to be a kind of birch. The wood of all the above-named trees is highly valued on account of its fragrance or the resin it exudates.

make visible the flame. Come ye along also who are sprung from a Caṇḍâla family, a Naishâda family, a Veṇa family, a Rathakâra family, a Pukkusa<sup>1)</sup> family; taking with you an upper-araṇi made of the wood of a dog's drinking-vessel or of a pig-sty or of a washerman's trough or of elanḍa-wood<sup>2)</sup>, light a fire and make visible the flame. What do you think, o Assalâyana? The fire that will have been lit, the flame that will have been made visible by persons sprung from a Kshatriya family, a Brahman family, a royal family, with an upper-araṇi of sâla-or salâla-or sandal-or padma-wood — will that fire be shining and beaming and bright and will it be possible to use this fire for religious purposes? On the other hand, the fire that will have been lit, the flame that will have been made visible by persons sprung from a Caṇḍâla family, a Naishâda family, a Veṇa family, a Rathakâra family, a Pukkusa family, with an upper-araṇi of the wood of a dog's drinking vessel or of a pig-sty or of a washerman's trough or of elanḍa-wood — will this fire not be shining, not beaming, not bright and will it not be possible to use this fire for religious purposes? « « » Not so, o Gotama. The fire that will have been lit, the flame that will have been made visible by persons sprung from a Kshatriya family, a Brahman family, a royal family, with an upper-araṇi of sâla-or salâla-or sandal-or padma-wood — that fire will be

<sup>1)</sup> Caṇḍâla, Naishâda, Veṇa, Rathakâra (literally: coach-maker, so called from their profession) and Pukkusa are names of low castes among the Çûdrâs.

<sup>2)</sup> Elanḍa in Sanskrit eraṇḍa is the Ricinus communis. It is a low-grown bush which is often contemptuously opposed to high trees.

shining and beaming and bright and it will be possible to use this fire for religious purposes. And also the fire that will have been lit, the flame that will have been made visible by persons sprung from a Caṇḍāla family, a Naishāda family, a Veṇa family, a Rathakāra family, a Pukkusa family, with an upper-araṇi of the wood of a dog's drinking vessel or of a pig-sty or of a washerman's trough or of eḷaṇḍa-wood — even this fire will be shining and beaming and bright and it will be possible to use this fire for religious purposes. For every fire, o Gotama, is shining and beaming and bright and every fire may be used for religious purposes.» » » What then, o Assalāyana, is the power of the Brahmans and what comfort is it to them to say: The Brahmans are the best caste, all the other castes are inferior to them; the Brahmans are the white caste, the other castes are black; the Brahmans alone are pure, not the non-Brahmans; the Brahmans are the legitimate sons of Brahmā, born from his mouth, sprung from Brahmā, created by Brahmā, heirs of Brahmā?« « » It is as you say, o Gotama. Nevertheless the Brahmans assert: The Brahmans are the best caste, all the other castes are inferior to them etc.« » » What do you think of this, o Assalāyana? A Kshatriya youth may cohabit with a Brahman maiden; in consequence of their cohabitation there might be born a son; this son who might have sprung from a Kshatriya youth and a Brahman maiden and who is like his mother as well as his father, should he be called a Kshatriya and should he also be called a Brahman?« » » This son, o Gotama, who might have sprung from a Kshatriya youth and a Brahman maiden and who is like his mother as well

as his father should be called a Kshatriya and should also be called a Brahman.» »What do you think of this, o Assalâyana? A Brahman youth may cohabit with a Kshatriya maiden; in consequence of their cohabitation there might be born a son; this son who might have sprung from a Brahman youth and a Kshatriya maiden and who is like his mother as well as his father, should he be called a Kshatriya and should he also be called a Brahman?» »This son, o Gotama, who might have sprung from a Brahman youth and a Kshatriya maiden and who is like his mother as well as his father, should be called a Kshatriya and should also be called a Brahman.» »What do you think of this, o Assalâyana? People might here unite a mare with an ass; in consequence of their union might be born a colt; this colt which might have sprung from a mare and an ass and which is like its mother as well as its father, should it be called a horse and should it also be called an ass?» »In consequence of the crossing, o Gotama, it becomes a mule. Of this, o Gotama, I see that difference, whereas in the other cases I do not see any difference whatever.« »What do you think of this, o Assalâyana? There might here be two young men, uterine brothers, the one studying, initiated, the other not studying, not initiated. Whom of the two would the Brahmans first regale at an obsequial rite<sup>1)</sup> or at an offering of boiled food<sup>2)</sup> or at a sacrifice or

<sup>1)</sup> At obsequial rites it was usual to prepare a banquet at which presents were made to the Brahmans.

<sup>2)</sup> The Pâli word is *thâlîpâka*-Sanskrit *sthâlîpâka*. It is an offering of barley or rice cooked in milk.



at a banquet prepared for guests?» » That youth, o Gotama, who is studying, initiated, would the Brahmans first regale at an obsequial rite or at an offering of boiled food or at a sacrifice or at a banquet prepared for guests. For what great reward would an offering have that is made to a not studying, not initiated person?» » What do you think of this, o Assalâyana? There might here be two young men, uterine brothers, the one studying, initiated, but of a bad character and evil habits, the other not studying, not initiated, but virtuous and of good habits. Whom of the two would the Brahmans first regale at an obsequial rite or at an offering of boiled food or at a sacrifice or at a banquet prepared for guests?» » That youth, o Gotama, who is not studying, not initiated, but virtuous and of good habits, would the Brahmans first regale at an obsequial rite or at an offering of boiled food or at a sacrifice or at a banquet prepared for guests: For what great reward would an offering have that is made to a person of bad character and evil habits?» » At first, o Assalâyana, you were convinced of (the indifference of) birth, afterwards of (that of) knowledge (of the holy scriptures) and by that you have conceded the purity of all the four castes which I proclaim.» » — When he had thus spoken, the youth Assalâyana sat there silent, irritated, distressed, looking downwards, reflecting, not able to answer. Then the Blessed one seeing that the youth Assalâyana sat there silent, irritated, distressed, looking downwards, reflecting, not able to answer, spoke thus to the youth Assalâyana: » » Formerly, o Assalâyana, there



arose amongst the seven brahmarshis<sup>1)</sup> who conversed in (their) dwelling place in the forest, in (their) huts made of leaves, such a false and heretical doctrine: The Brahmans are the best caste, all the other castes are inferior to them etc. Asita-Devala,<sup>2)</sup> o Assalâyana, heard that there arose amongst the seven brahmarshis who conversed in (their) dwelling place in the forest, in (their) huts made of leaves, such a false and heretical doctrine: The Brahmans are the best caste, all the other castes are inferior to them etc. Then, o Assalâyana, the ṛshi Asita-Devala having cut his hair and beard and having put on robes of a light-red colour and sandals on his feet, taking with him a golden staff, appeared to the seven ṛshis in the hut. Then, o Assalâyana, Asita-Devala walking in the hut of the seven brahmarshis

<sup>1)</sup> Brahmarshi or priestly Saint is an honorary title given to certain old Sages. Seven being a holy number with the Hindus as well as with other nations, it did originally not denote exactly seven Saints, but quite indefinite a number. Later on »seven« being understood literally, the names of the seven brahmarshis are generally given thus: Atri, Bharadvâja, Gotama, Jamadagni, Kaçyapa, Vasishṭha, Viçvâmitra. — ṛshi, maharshi, brahmarsi are titles expressing different degrees of sanctity.

<sup>2)</sup> Asita-Devala literally means »black Devala.« According to the commentary Buddha at that time lived on earth as the Bodhisattva Koṇḍadamo and he himself took the shape of the ṛshi Asita-Devala. Devala is a name frequently occurring in Indian literature. A ṛshi Asita-Devala is »one of the most celebrated of ṛshi astronomers« (Kern, *Bṛhat Saṃhitâ* p. 41.) and he has also been introduced into Buddhist literature under the synonymous name of Kâladevala. (*Jâtaka* p. 54 f.) It is obvious that the whole story is a pia fraus, invented by Buddha to comfort Assalâyana.

spoke thus: »Alas! Where then are these brahmarshis gone? Alas! Where then are these brahmarshis gone?« Thereupon, o Assalâyana, the seven brahmarshis thought thus: Who then is he who like a peasant youth walking in the hut of the seven brahmarshis speaks thus: Alas! Where then are these brahmarshis gone? Alas! Where then are these brahmarshis gone? Well, let us curse him.« Thereon, o Assalâyana, the seven brahmarshis cursed the ṛshi Asita-Devala: Become ye ashes, you wretch! The more, o Assalâyana, the seven brahmarshis cursed the ṛshi Asita-Devala, the more the ṛshi Asita-Devala became handsome, beautiful, pleasing. Upon that, o Assalâyana, the seven brahmarshis thought thus: Useless, alas! is our penance, fruitless our religious life; for whomsoever we cursed formerly (saying): Become ye ashes, you wretch! he became ashes. This one on the contrary the more we curse him, the more he becomes handsome, beautiful, pleasing. — Your penance is not useless, your religious life not fruitless. Give up your angry thoughts towards myself! — We give them up. Who then are you? — Did you not hear of the ṛshi Asita-Devala? — We did, sir. — I am he. — Then, o Assalâyana, the seven brahmarshis went to the ṛshi Asita-Devala to salute him, whereon the ṛshi Asita-Devala, o Assalâyana, spoke thus to the seven brahmarshis: I have heard that to you seven brahmarshis who did converse in (your) dwelling place in the forest, in (your) huts made of leaves, there arose such a false and heretical doctrine: The Brahmans are the best caste, all the other castes are inferior to them; the Brahmans are the white caste, the other castes are black; the

Brahmans alone are pure, not the non-Brahmans ; the Brahmans are the legitimate sons of Brahmâ, born from his mouth, sprung from Brahmâ, created by Brahmâ, heirs of Brahmâ. — Thus it is, sir. — Do you know whether your maternal grandmother had sexual intercourse just with a Brahman, not with a non-Brahman? — No, sir. — Do you know, whether the mother of your maternal grandmother and so on up to the seventh generation of your maternal grandparents had sexual intercourse just with a Brahman, not with a non-Brahman? — No, sir. — Do you know, whether your maternal grandfather had sexual intercourse just with a Brahman woman, not with a non-Brahman woman? — No, sir. — Do you know, whether the father of your maternal grandfather and so on up to the seventh generation of your paternal grandparents had sexual intercourse just with a Brahman woman and not with a non-Brahman woman? — No, sir. — Do you know, how the conception does take place? — We know, sir, how the conception does take place. The parents live together and enter into matrimony, the mother becomes menstruous and the foetus gets existence. Thus from the cooperation of three things conception does take place. — Do you know, whether this foetus be a Kshatriya or a Brahman or a Vaiçya or a Çûdra? — We do not know, sir, whether this foetus be a Kshatriya or a Brahman or a Vaiçya or a Çûdra. — Well, do you know, who you are yourselves? — Such being the case, sir, we do not know, who we are ourselves. — These seven brahmarshis, o Assalâyana, being thus inquired and admonished and questioned by the ṛshi Asita-Devala in the disputation about their lineage could not be successful,

much less will you now be successful being inquired and admonished and questioned by myself in the disputation about your lineage, since you are the sâcariyako of them not Puṇṇa<sup>1)</sup> the cook. — When (Buddha) had thus spoken, the youth Assalâyana addressed him as follows: It is wonderful, o Gotama, it is wonderful, o Gotama! May the lord Gotama receive me as a disciple and true believer from this time forth to the end of my life!

— END OF ASSALÂYANASUTTAM. —

<sup>1)</sup> According to the commentary Puṇṇa was a benefactor of the seven ṛshis, who used to take a spoon and prepare the food for them. The word I have rendered with »cook« is in Pâli dabbigâho, literally »taker of the spoon.« What sâcariyako means I am unable to say. The passage is rather obscure.

































































































































































